

# The Republican.

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## TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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Dorchester Gaol, August 27, Year 3,  
of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

IF Castlereagh has not been buried in a cross road with a stake through his body as the law prescribes should have been done, he has been dropped into his grave amidst the hearty cheers of the honest, and the weepings of the vile only. As a public man, not one honest tear, not one regret, has followed his throat-cutting upon himself. No, no, too many a widow and an orphan have had to mourn the assassination or legal murder of a kind husband and good father during his reign. All is joy throughout the two islands of Britain and Ireland at his self-destruction, none weep but those who have been his instruments for guilty actions.

Yes, the honest people of London, from whom he never received one cheer in his life-time, have done themselves the honour to cheer him when dead for his last act. They felt that one of their tyrants had fallen, and he one of the worst of them, whose fall would accelerate that of all the others. Their cheers were natural, and as dignified as natural. It was an expression of a detestation of tyranny, a cheer of gladness, to think that a tyrant was going to his grave prematurely, and had himself been destroyed by the hand that had assisted in so much destruction. The managers of the hireling press may complain, but it is our turn to rejoice. They have chuckled over the murder of a Cashman, a Brandreth, a Thistlewood and others, and shall we not rejoice at the self-destruction of him who has been the principal cause of all those murders? They mourned not for Riley urged by torture to self-destruction in a dungeon (if he did destroy himself) and shall we mourn for Castlereagh whose vices had reached such a climax as to render life insupportable? No, we will rejoice. It is another proof of

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what I told you before, that nature works on our side, and not on that of a tyrant, for the moment Castlereagh made his appeal to nature for his justification, she spurned him and urged him to self-destruction. Nature disowned him and his actions. Her fructifying principles were not akin with tyranny. Her principles of resurrection could never have availed Castlereagh and his measures. The principles of nature are the principles of liberty.

It has been discovered that Castlereagh purchased the knife on the Friday, from a Jew-boy in the street, with which he destroyed himself on the following Monday. This is a proof that the act was deliberate and premeditated. It is possible he might have felt the exclusion from the Royal Visit to Scotland; such an exclusion, to a man who had considered himself a favourite and an indispensable requisite to all the measures and movements of the King, must have operated upon a mind that was nothing more than a compound of vanity, villainy, and impudence. He felt, like Wolsey, that he had fallen from the King's favour, and this he felt, too, in conjunction with a knowledge that the "working of events" was winding up his career. He acted wisely for himself, in cutting his throat. His continuation of life must have been that of despair and wretchedness, such as attends the corrodings of a guilty conscience; and it is more than probable that the "working of events" might have caused its extinction upon a public scaffold. The knife that cut the thread of life, or divided the carotid artery of Castlereagh's neck, should be placed in a museum as a curiosity: not the "*Radical Museum*," that is a projected trick to get a few handsome presents from industrious artizans, but in such an institution as the British Museum. The knife would be gazed on with a meditative admiration, not only in the present but in all future generations, whilst the deeds of its original owner were remembered. The rusty keys of royal chamber doors, and the rusty nails and shoes of royal horses, would instantly lose all further interest as soon as the knife with which Castlereagh cut his throat was placed in the British Museum. If we possessed the sword of Goliath which served David to cut off that Giant's head (as the Jew Books say) it would become trifling and insignificant, as a curiosity, in comparison with Castlereagh's life-dispatching knife.

I shall now quit this subject, or so much of it as we know at present, for we are apt to sicken at good things. I have not reported the proceedings of the Coroner's Inquest on Castlereagh, in these pages, because I write under the im-



pression that every reader of the Republican is a reader of newspapers, and that an absence of all such lengthened reports of public proceedings is more agreeable to him than otherwise. The multitude of newspapers, all devoted to such reports, renders it unnecessary, in the present day, that such a publication as this should do more than comment upon public proceedings as they appear reported in those papers. Such things as are peculiarly worthy of being extensively recorded, and such things as other publications shrink from reporting and doing justice to, I shall readily make room for in this publication.

The subject of the Bishop and the Soldier is become rather stale, and seems to be suspended for a time; and that of the Royal Visit to Scotland is totally unworthy of my notice, further than to say, that the Scotch Priests are as corrupt as those of England or Ireland. The Addresses which they have presented to the King are filled with adulation of the basest kind. The case is, the thing will never vary whilst we support such disgusting animals as Kings and Priests. They will ever riot in idleness and splendour, on the spoil of industry, and laugh in the sleeves of their robes and gowns, whilst they mutually flatter and caress each other at the People's expence. All the world is sick of them, and their extinction is universally decreed. They are the parents of vice and ignorance, and you cannot disperse the offspring and prevent fresh productions without getting rid of the parents.

Much interest has been excited as to who is to fill Castlereagh's place, particularly as he has been viewed as the nucleus of the present corrupt Administration. A greater tyrant or villain, we have the satisfaction of knowing, cannot be found: so come who will into his office, we shall have no cause to regret his loss. The Whigs have new hopes that they shall be called upon to officiate, though they must doubtless know, that if they wish to continue long in office they must not follow any precedent of former times, whether it be Whig or Tory. What is properly called the *spirit of the age* requires new and more rational institutions. The Whigs have one and all pledged themselves to some sort of Reform, and begin it they must if they get into office. They will not be able to stop it where they like, that is another sure thing they may calculate upon. It will come on like the accumulating force of a torrent, and bear down every thing that is corrupt. The *spirit of the age* makes it a matter of perfect indifference whether the Administration be Whig or Tory, reform it must, or be

reformed. All is chit chat, for the present, about filling up the vacancy, and when it be once filled there will be no certainty of the thing keeping together a month. If the Whigs do not push themselves in before another session of Parliament, they may bid adieu to office for ever, as a faction under that title. The principles (if there be such things) of Pitt or Fox, of Whig and Tory, are sinking into the abyss of oblivion. Names will no longer be sufficient to guide the multitude. Republican institutions, founded upon Republican principles, can alone charm that multitude in future. No man calls himself a Whig now-a-day, save a few members of the Aristocracy, who retain whatever is corrupt a century after the multitude have discarded it. A century ago, the name of Whig was that alone which indicated a love of liberty, but now it has lost that property, and has none upon which it can be longer sustained. To Republicanism, and the title of Republicans, all must come. There is no resting place upon any other distinction that indicates a true spirit of liberty. Corrupt or weak-minded professors of liberality and a love of liberty are apt to complain about "rushing into extremes;" but it is a law in morals to acknowledge no extremes of good. There can be no extreme of honesty, of virtue, of chastity, or of any kind of morality but is preferable to that degree which is beneath it. So it is in politics; the highest extreme of public good, or Republicanism, is that which the truly honest patriot can alone rest upon. Beneath this, all is trickery, corruption, and a mutual fleecing of each other.

Monarchical principles, or Monarchical Governments, are so far proved injurious to the public good, that they are growing unfashionable from the force of public opinion. Throughout the world called America nothing is heard of Monarchical principles. Iturbide, the new Emperor of Mexico, if ever he gets the bauble called a crown upon his head, will not wear it seven years, if he does one. The same will be the fate of the new Emperor of the Brazils, if the accounts be true that the son of the present King of Portugal has been invested with, or has assumed that distinction. Fashion is a thing that operates upon mankind, or those who do not think so much as others, most powerfully, and perhaps more powerfully than principles. Those who reason will be continually contrasting the state of taxation under European Monarchies, with that under American Republics.

Commerce will be another powerful stimulant to change.



Every merchant will soon discover that it thrives best under free Republican Governments. The commerce of Europe is cramped and languishing, and will go on to decay so long as monarchies keep down the Representative System of Government, whilst throughout America there is a rapid increase; and when peace be thoroughly established in the South there will be such an interchange of commodities between the South and North as never existed before on the face of the earth. It will exceed by far that of this country during the late war, when we even monopolized the commerce of the whole world. If our merchants had any foresight they would at once lay the foundation of a free trade by straining every nerve to bring about a pure Representative Legislature, or such as shall represent the whole People. Without this they will dwindle into insignificance; for it is natural that the merchants of free countries should trade exclusively with free countries.

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

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SIR, Giltspur-Street Compter, Aug. 14, 1822.

HOWEVER disgusting and execrable the conduct of the Bishop of Clogher may be, it will assuredly be productive of some good. It is another proof that "The friends of Religion have no more kindred with the friends of Morality, than the friends of Vice have kindred with the friends of Virtue." Have not we, then, who are suffering imprisonment for publishing this and other wholesome truths, cause to rejoice at such conduct in a dignified member of the only true church of God, being made public? I, for one, rejoice at it, and am delighted with the masterly style in which it has been done by Mr. Cobbett. This Right Reverend Father in God is a friend of Religion; he is a friend and supporter of a system that teaches us that to merit happiness in an ideal world hereafter, we must be content with hunger and rags in this. He is a loyal man; a putter down of "sedition and blasphemy;" a worshipper of, and prayer to, three Gods; a hater of schism; and at the White Lion public house he has given us a specimen of his morality. But this is but one instance, out of many that we daily witness, that religion does not make men moral; it may make them servile, cowardly, and hypocritical, but it never did nor never will make them virtuous. We see many excellent moral characters amongst religionists, but it is not religion that makes them so: they would be every whit as moral were they Atheists. Religion, to be good for any thing, ought to

ameliorate the condition of man; now, has it done this? Christianity has swayed the minds of the people of Europe for fifteen hundred years, and we see to what a degraded and miserable state they are reduced: Ireland has had her belly-full of Christianity, and now she cannot get a belly-full of potatoes! Well, I hope I shall never taste the blessings and comforts of religion.

There are people, I suppose, who are still so infatuated as to believe that the preachers of the Gospel are called by the Holy Ghost; now what can these people think of Percy Jocelyn being one of the called, one of the favourites of the third person in the trio of Gods? The Holy Ghost either knew or he knew not the real character of Percy Jocelyn when he chose him to tell the world that God the Second died to appease God the First, and to save the whole human race from eternal damnation, which had been pronounced against them because a man had been so wicked as to eat an apple presented to him by his wife! If he knew his character, who can murmur at such a monster being a bishop, without arraiguing the wisdom of Providence, who, we are often told, has a right to do as he pleases with his creatures? If he knew not his character, then, God the Holy Ghost was as ignorant and had as little foreknowledge as God the Father had when he made the world, and afterwards repented of it because of its wickedness.

The pious methodists, too, could circulate thousands and thousands of tracts about the drunkenness of Paine; will they be as zealous in exposing the vices of the Bishop of Clogher? If these sectarians are really desirous of exposing the vices of individuals, without respect of persons, let them circulate Mr. Cobbett's exposure of the profligate Bishop. There is nothing in the writings of Cobbett that will shock their delicate ears about religion, nothing to convince them that one cannot be three, and that three must be more than one; nothing in these writings, although there is in the Jew-Books, that represents the God whom they adore as a cruel, malignant, and impotent being. Mr. Cobbett says nothing about these things, so that they may, without having their feelings hurt by reading such truths, read his complete exposure of the Right Reverend Father in God, Percy Jocelyn, Lord Bishop of Clogher. But neither the Methodists nor any other sect bearing the name of Christian will do this: Paine was a Deist, and endeavoured to make man intelligent, happy, and virtuous; and the Bishop is an idolator, that would keep him in ignorance, slavery, and misery.

By this morning's papers I learn, that a clergyman has been brought from the country on a charge of violating the person of a child under nine years of age; so that it seems the clergy are determined not to let you have all the glory to yourself of bringing into hatred and contempt a system that clothes with sanctity the most infamous of men. The more effectually the clergy work in this way, the sooner the nefarious system will have an end.

Your's, &c.

H. BOYLE.



TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Bath, August 21, 1822.

It appears by the Trial of Mrs. Wright that a part of our Correspondence which did not appear in the Republican, has been printed in some other publication which I have not yet seen. I should therefore be obliged to you if you could favour me with a copy of it, and I shall be happy to return you an equal or greater favour should it lie in my power. I often think of you with sincere regret, and frequently pray to God to give you repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.

I am, Sir, with the best wishes for your present and eternal welfare,

Your sincere Friend,

WILLIAM WAIT.

P. S. A parcel or a post-letter, directed for me at No. 10, North Parade, Bath, (if sent within a week or ten days) will find me here, but if not sent till after that time, it had better be directed to King's Square, Bristol.

TO THE REV. WILLIAM WAIT, A. B. 10, NORTH  
PARADE, BATH.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 23, 1822.

I HAVE received your letter by this day's post and readily comply with your request. The copies I send you are the only copies I have by me, or I would have sent them clean and uncut. The passages underlined in the small pamphlets are those which were selected for Mrs. Wright's indictment.

I cannot conceive the kind of regret you feel for me, unless it be for the success of my endeavours. I am happy to inform you that I prosper in my undertaking beyond my own expectations. As to your prayer for me, it is evidently made to an idol, for it avails not your wishes. Repentance and an acknowledgment of the truth becomes you, not me. I feel the comfort that no one action of my life requires repentance. I have neither assisted in cheating the industrious multitude, nor have I lived in idleness upon the produce of their industry.

I am Sir, yours, &c.

R. CARLILE.

## TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR, Yarmouth, Aug. 19, 1822.

I AM directed to send you the Subscription of a few Friends to Civil and Religious Liberty in this town, towards the payment of the Fines levied upon you by the "Joint Stock Company."

I am further requested to present their thanks for the bold and dauntless manner in which you have defied Tyranny and Bigotry, and to express their hope that you will not relax in your exertions until the freedom of religious opinions and the Liberty of the Press be completely established.

Of all the tyrannies on human kind,  
The worst is that which persecutes the *mind*;  
Let us but weigh at what offence we strike,  
'Tis but because we cannot *think* alike!

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

HEZEKIAH MARTIN.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
S. Cobb	1	0	0	An Enemy to Priestcraft	0	0	6
H. Martin, who contends that				A Friend	0	1	0
opinions ought to be as				J. T. Johnson	0	0	6
free as the air we breathe	1	0	0	An Enemy to Priestcraft	0	0	6
A. Conworth	0	2	0	An Enemy to Oppression	0	0	6
A Deist	1	2	6	Dulce et decorum est pro patri			
D. H. a Republican	0	2	0	mori	0	1	0
A. T. D.	0	1	0	A.	0	0	6
A. H. an Admirer of the				An Enemy to Priestcraft	0	1	0
"Temple of Reason"	0	2	0	R. W. Byerley of Leeds	0	2	6
The spiritual man is mad				W. Meyrick	0	3	0
"Hosea"	0	2	6	W. S.	1	0	0
A kick at corruption	0	2	0	James Baldry	0	5	0
An Enemy to a standing army				A Friend	0	5	0
of Priests	0	1	0	N. H.	0	1	0
A well wisher	0	0	6	J. T. B.	0	2	0
R. H. W.	0	1	0	A Christian, but a Friend to			
An Enemy to Persecution	0	1	0	Free Discussion	0	1	0
A Friend to the investigation				G. A. try all things but hold			
of every established Su-				fast that which is good	0	1	0
perstition	0	1	0	A Friend to Truth	0	1	0



TO MR. HEZEKIAH MARTIN, YARMOUTH,  
NORFOLK.

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SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 25, 1822.

I BEG, through you, to express my thanks to the friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, in Yarmouth, for their subscriptions towards my fines. In wishing to see those fines paid by public subscriptions, a higher object is embraced than as it may relieve me in purse or person: it will tend to shew those who would chain our minds to some superstitious standard, that there are men enough in this country who will not submit to any thing of the kind, and who will share with any individual persecuted, the fines imposed upon him for promulgating philosophical opinions. The two books, for which I have been so long imprisoned, so heavily fined, and, what is worst of all, so outrageously robbed of what property I had accumulated, are as purely philosophical, philanthropic, and patriotic, as any that ever issued from the pen of man or woman. I hold it then to be a matter of great importance, as it may tend to stay further similar persecutions and robberies, that those of the public who disapprove them, should step forward and identify themselves with the individual sought to be crushed upon such grounds, and render all fines ineffectual for the purposes intended. For my own part I am prepared to bear any thing that may happen to me in the course of the career I have taken, and at the same time, I prepare to act in the most effectual manner. The accumulation of property I value no further than that it is the best of tools to work with in this, as well as in every other cause, and beyond the immediate wants of my family I have uniformly sent every shilling to aid the working of the Printing Press.

My friends of Yarmouth may be assured that I shall never become a party to the relaxation of any efforts I may be able to make in the great cause of Civil and Religious Liberty. I can conscientiously say that I have hitherto acted up to the full extent of my ability; and, if I know my own disposition, I can say that I shall continue so to do.

I am, Sir, most respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

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A further subscription of £4 10s. has been received from Glasgow.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR, Wingerworth near Chesterfield, August 20, 1822.

ALTHOUGH I agree with you in many of your political and theological sentiments, yet I cannot go the length that you do in all. In your reply to Mr. James Humphrey, of Springdale near Huddersfield, you deny (or at least I understand you to deny) the existence of an "almighty power;" and that you ascribe all the varied phenomena of Nature to the action of matter upon matter.

Now, at least, a hundred difficulties arise in my mind as to the truth of this doctrine. I will not trouble you with a list of these difficulties, but content myself with stating one only, as I conceive that if this one be satisfactorily explained it will probably serve as a solution to all the others.

It is well known to astronomers, that all the planets belonging to the solar system move round the Sun in orbits more or less elliptical, yet not deviating far from a circle. It is also well known that this circular motion is the effect of two distinct forces, called the attractive and the projectile forces, and that the eccentricity of the orbits of the planets depends upon the adjustment of these two forces to each other. Now the focus of attraction of the solar system is in the centre of the Sun, or nearly so, and this attractive force has been mathematically demonstrated to decrease as the squares of the distance from the focus of attraction increases. It has also been in the like manner demonstrated that to cause the planets to move in circles (as they nearly do) it is necessary that each planet should have a projectile force peculiarly adapted to itself, the proper quantum of projectile force necessary for each planet, depending upon their several quantities of matter and distances from the Sun (or focus of attraction.)

Now (for the sake of argument) I am willing to allow that the attractive force of the sun and the planets upon each other is a natural property of matter, yet (at present) I cannot comprehend from whence came the projectile force, or how it happened to be in all cases so nicely balanced to the variable attractive force as we find it is; unless it be ascribed to the interference of an "Almighty Power." In hopes that yourself, or some of your intelligent correspondents will assist me with the above difficulty, I remain, Sir, with good wishes to yourself and family,

Yours, &c.

JOHN GRATTON, JUNIOR.



TO MR. JOHN GRATTON JUN., WINGERWORTH.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 25, 1822.

I DO not deny the existence of an almighty power in one sense of that word, though I do in another. The word *almighty* has two meanings: That there is a power that produces the *all* of the phenomena we behold or know to exist, I readily acknowledge; but, that there is a power capable of effecting what is commonly applied to the term *almighty*, I deny. The almighty power, I admit, is natural and cannot exceed its own laws; but the common acceptance of the word *almighty* signifies a supernatural power that can set aside all the known laws of nature and make what change it pleases. Of any such power I deny the existence.

I deny it upon the ground, that design must be the result of intelligence, and the human mind can form no idea of intelligence beyond animal organization. Intelligence, then, as far as the human mind comprehends, is a result, or one of the phenomena of matter and motion, or the natural almighty power, and not a cause. It is evidently the cause of nothing but the simple operations of animals upon the surface of the earth. This simple proof is sufficient to justify our rejection of a supernatural almighty power, or that which is the fiction of the human mind. Such a thing is not only a mere idea but evidently feigned or fabricated upon no grounds or reasons whatever.

I am not aware, Sir, that it is an axiom among astronomers that the motions of the planets are the results of two distinct forces, or what you have called an *attractive* and a *projectile* force. Such a theory has been almost generally agreed to for some time past, but it is now beginning to be questioned, and it appears probable that it will be totally overthrown. Sir Richard Phillips, in his *Theory of the Universe*, has treated these supposed forces as superstitious fictions, and I verily believe, has approached the nearest hitherto of any philosopher, to a correct theory of the universe. Infallibility he does not assume, and perhaps will himself live to discover some errors in his theory, but he has certainly made a considerable advance, and has laid Newton low on many points. I particularly recommend his work to you for perusal. As far as I can judge you will find that exact species of information for which you enquire,

and I am not aware that it can be found in any other work extant.

In the mean time I shall be happy to afford space in "The Republican" to any scientific correspondent who will undertake to give you the information required. In every thing relating to science I am but a novice, and cannot venture to give you that information as my own, when I can refer you to an author so much more competent.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

### SCRIPTURE CONTRADICTIONS.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

If the enclosed contradictions of Scripture are worth a place in your Republican, they are at your service. From Yours, &c.

W. D.

HEAVEN created the first day. Gen. i. 1.	HEAVEN created the second day. Gen. i. 8.
In the image of God made, &c. Gen. i. 27.	Who is like the Lord. Psalm lxxxix. 6.
Blessed them, and said be fruitful. Gen. i. 28.	Blessed are the barren. Luke xxiii. 29.
All that God created was good. Gen. i. 31.	I create evil. Isaiah xlv. 7.
God rested from all his works. Gen. ii. 2.	The Father works hitherto. John v. 17.
Not good that man should be alone. Gen. ii. 18.	Good not to touch a woman. 1 Cor. vii. 1.
The woman saw before she eat. Gen. iii. 6.	The eyes opened after eating. Gen. iii. 7.
Man become like one of us. Gen. iii. 2.	The Lord thy God is one. Deut. vi. 4.
Gave to her husband, and he did eat. Gen. iii. 16.	The man was not deceived. 1 Tim. ii. 14.
Cain marked that he should not be killed. Gen. iv. 15.	The blood shedder must die. Gen. ix. 6.
Cain went from the presence of the Lord. Gen. iv. 16.	Where shall I go from thy presence. Psalm cxxxix. 7.
Earth destroyed because of evil. Gen. vi. 5, 6.	Earth not destroyed because of evil. Gen. viii. 21.
God repented. Gen. vi. 6.	He is not a man to repent. 1 Sam. xv. 29.
Noah was a righteous man. Gen. vi. 9.	None righteous no not one. Rom. iii. 10.
In the first month the waters dry. Gen. viii. 13.	In the second month. Gen. viii. 14.



Seed time and harvest shall never cease. Gen. viii. 22.

The fear of you shall be on every creature. Gen. ix. 2.

Divided every man after his tongue. Gen. x. 5.

God came down to see. Gen. xi. 5.

Arphaxad begat Sala. Gen. xi. 13.

Abraham departed to go into Canaan. Gen. xii. 5.

The land I will give thee. Gen. xiii. 17.

In the fourth generation they shall return. Gen. xv. 16.

There they both swear. Gen. xxi. 31.

I have seen the Lord face to face. Gen. xxxii. 30.

I will bring thee up to Egypt. Gen. xlv. 4.

All Jacob's soul seventy. Gen. xlv. 27.

Israel worshipped towards his bed's head. Gen. xlvii. 31.

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come. Gen. xlix. 10.

I will harden Pharaoh's heart. Ex. iv. 21.

Ye shall spoil the Egyptians. Exod. iii. 22.

Moses feared. Exod. ii. 14.

I have made thee Pharaoh's God. Exod. vii. 1.

All the cattle in Egypt died. Exod. ix. 6.

Israel sojourning 430 days. Exod. xii. 40.

The Lord is a man of war. Exod. xv. 3.

Visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children. Exod. xx. 4.

God answered by a voice. Exod. xix. 20.

Remember the Sabbath. Exod. xx. 8.

Thou shalt not slay the righteous. Exod. xxiii. 7.

Make me a Tabernacle to dwell in. Exod. xxv. 8.

He justifieth not the ungodly. Exod. xxxiv. 7.

Their flesh is unclean to you. Lev. xi. 8.

Sanctify yourselves. Lev. xi. 44.

Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife. Lev. xviii. 16.

Thou shalt not revenge. Lev. xix. 18.

Seven years wherein is none. Gen. xlv. 6.

The Lion turneth not away for any. Prov. xxx. 30.

The whole Earth one tongue. Gen. xi. 1.

I fill heaven and earth. Jer. xxiii. 24.

Arphaxad begat Cainan. Luke iii. 36.

He went, not knowing where. Heb. xi. 8.

He gave him not a foot. Acts vii. 5.

In the seventh they did return. Josh. xiv. 1.

Swear not at all. Matt. v. 34.

Thou canst not see his face. Exod. xxxiii. 20.

Jacob died in Egypt. Gen. xlix. 38.

They were seventy-five. Acts vii. 14.

Worshipped, leaning on his staff. Heb. xi. 21.

The sceptre was departed before. Luke iii. 1.

Pharaoh hardened his own heart. Exod. viii. 15.

Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, nor rob him. Lev. xix. 13.

He feared not. Heb. xi. 27.

Thou shalt have no other gods but me. Exod. xx. 3.

They put their cattle into their houses. Exod. ix. 20.

Four hundred years. Acts vii. 6.

A God of Peace. Heb. xiii. 20.

The children shall not bear the iniquity, &c. Ezek. xviii. 20.

You never heard his voice. John v. 37.

The Priest prophane it blameless. Matt. xii. 5.

I will cut off the righteous and the wicked. Ezra xxi. 3.

The Lord dwelleth not in Temples. Acts vii. 48.

He doth justify the ungodly. Rom. iv. 5.

There is nothing unclean. Rom. xiv. 14.

I, the Lord, sanctify. Ezek. xxxvii. 28.

Her husband's brother shall go into her. Deut. xxv. 5.

Go, revenge Midian. Numb. xxxi. 2.

Not die the common death of man.  
Numb. xvi. 29.

The people shake against God and  
Moses. Numb. xxi. 5, 6.

There died in the plague 24,000.  
Numb. xxv. 9.

Eat flesh whenever thy soul lusteth.  
Deut. xii. 20.

Thou shalt not covenant with them.  
Deut. vii. 2.

You have seen all that the Lord did.  
Deut. xxix. 2.

Jacob bought the field of Hamor.  
Josh. xxiv. 32.

A witch raiseth Samuel. 1 Sam.  
xxviii. 11.

Michal had no child. 2 Sam. vi. 23.

God moved David to number. 2  
Sam. xxiv. 1.

David had rest from all his enemies.  
2 Sam. vii. 1. 11.

David to 700 horsemen. 2 Sam.  
viii. 4.

Forty thousand horsemen. 2 Sam.  
x. 8.

Bathsheba the daughter of Eliam.  
2 Sam. xi. 3.

Joab's number 800,000 and 50,000.  
2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

Shall seven years famine come. 2  
Sam. xxiv. 13.

Nor day nor night. Isa. lxiii. 11.

There is no God. Isa. xlv. 14.

One of a city and two of a tribe.  
Jer. iii. 14.

Take a wife of fornication. Hos. i. 2.

Israel shall be ashamed. Hos. x. 6.

Jacob begat Joseph. Matt. i. 16.

Christ began not to preach before  
John was in prison. Matt. iv. 12.

Peter called by the sea-side. Matt.  
iv. 18.

Preached on the mount. Matt. v. 1.

Let men see your good works. Matt.  
v. 16.

If thine eye offend thee pull it out.  
Matt. v. 29.

Resist not evil. Matt. v. 39.

Judge not. Matt. vii. 1.

Go not into the way of the Gentiles.  
Matt. x. 5.

Take no staves. Matt. x. 9, 10.

This is Elias. Matt. xi. 14.

Then began he to upbraid. Matt.  
xi. 20.

As one die, so die all. Eccles. iii.  
19.

The Tempted Christ. 1 Cor. x. 9.

There fell but 23,000. 2 Cor. x. 9.

It is not good for a man to eat flesh.  
Rom. xiv. 21.

David did. 1 Kings xv. 19.

You have not seen it to this day.  
Deut. xxix. 4.

Abraham bought it of Hamor. Acts  
vii. 16.

God only raises the dead. Rom.  
iv. 17.

The five sons of Michal. 2 Sam.  
xxi. 8.

Satan moved him. 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

After that David smote the Philis-  
tines. 2 Sam. viii. 1. 10.

David to 7000 horsemen. 1 Chron.  
xviii. 4.

Forty thousand footmen. 1 Chron.  
xix. 8.

The daughter of Amiel. 1 Chron.  
iii. 5.

Joab's number 1,100,000 and 470000.  
1 Chron. xi.

Shall three years famine come. 1  
Chron. xxi. 12.

No night there. Rev. xxi. 25.

I am the Lord thy God. Isa. xlv. 21.

Twelve thousand of a tribe. Rev.  
vii. 4.

Fly fornication. 1 Cor. vi. 18.

My people shall never be ashamed.  
Joel ii. 26.

Joseph the son of Eli. Luke ii. 23.

Preached to Nicodemus before. John  
iii. 22.

Called in Christ's lodgings. John i.  
39, 40, &c.

In the plain. Luke vi. 17.

Let them not see it. Matt. vi. 1.

No man hateth his own flesh. Eph.  
v. 29.

Resist the devil. James iv. 7.

Thou shalt judge. 1 Cor. vi. 2.

Go teach all nations. Matt. xxviii.  
19.

Take nothing save a staff. Mark vi. 8.

I am not Elias. John i. 21.

He upbraided none. James i. 5.

(To be continued.)



TO MR. THOMAS JONATHAN WOOLER,  
LONDON.

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SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, August 20, 1822.

I PROMISED in my last letter to you to enlarge in another, upon the subject of that association which, before it commenced, was bombastically called "The Great Northern Radical Union." As I now calculate upon giving it the finishing stroke, I will go back to its origin, and review its rise and progress, as well as its utility and practicability.

It must be recollected that this is not the first attempt to collect pennies for the purpose of boroughmongering, or for the purpose of purchasing borough seats for men who may be disposed to fight the present boroughmongers; that is, to fight them with their own weapons, as it has been cunningly called; and though Mr. Hunt has claimed and pocketed the honour of the invention, the patent has been surreptitiously obtained. Mr. Hunt did not revive this project until another still more notable, which really did emanate from him, had been strangled at its birth. I cannot now say who did first set the project on foot to buy up the borough seats, but I know it was blazoned throughout the country, and millions of pence for the formation of thousands of pounds were to have been collected as fast as the treasurer could make account of them. That weighty affair, I believe, ended in the collection of FIVE POUNDS, or something thereabout, the application of which, (not to the purchase of a borough!) if I recollect rightly, was the cause of serious disputes and bickerings, and seemed to entail some little disgrace on the treasurer. At least, a charge of misapplication was made.

The more notable project, that which was really Mr. Hunt's invention, was the attempt to accomplish a union by establishing the order of the Knights of St. Henry of Ilchester! There was, of course, no ambition, no scheme, no egotism, no "*I myself, I*" in this affair, all was simple, artless, and a principle deeply calculated to bring about a Radical Reform, by bringing titles, and chivalry, and pilgrimage and superstition into contempt. It was, I presume, a fighting the saints and the knights, and all corrupt unions and associations for religious chivalry with their own weapons, as the boroughmongers are now to be fought with the

pennies. Had I not known that many Deists and Atheists were to have been initiated, I should have begun to quake for fear that St. Henry and Sir John Thacker Saxton, first and most distinguished knight of the Order of St. Henry of Ilchester, had conspired together, and had founded this order for the preservation of the Cross and the Christian Religion, and for the purpose of tilting at the Deists and Atheists, Jews and Mahometans, and all infidels to their own and holy faith. Knowing that your frequent talk about Christianity, Mr. Wooler, was all fudge, after having renounced and ridiculed the thing for years, even before you tried the trade of a Methodist preacher; knowing that Sir Charles Wolseley, the patron of the first Knight, and the confidential friend of the Saint, was avowedly hostile among all private friends to that and all other superstitions; knowing this, could alone have alleviated my alarm; but even here, I feared that hypocrisy might step in, also, and openly assist in putting down those principles which were privately professed and even known to be superior to all others. There is nothing so vile but hypocrisy can get over. Under all these doubts and apprehensions, I could scarcely suppress the illusion, but that my castle being the nearest to that of the Saint, and the rendezvous of his Knights at Ilchester, would soon be summoned and stormed. It happened very fortunately that the project of knighting all the Radicals and marshalling them against me was strangled in its birth, and not a single knight ever moved from Ilchester towards Dorchester Castle: but whether it has been from the want of courage or the want of honesty, I cannot pretend to divine. It has, however, turned out, that what the Radical Knights of the Holy Order could not undertake openly, they have attempted by stratagem and in ambush. Every friend of mine has been assailed that could be met with, and by threat or bribe his support and fidelity has been sought to be shaken. Finding that but little success has been met with on the part of the enemy I shall soon take advantage of the fidelity of my companions to march forth and seek for open combat.

I have forgot to whom I am writing, I ought not to have made an attempt at irony whilst addressing its master. I beg pardon, mistakes will happen, as the careless and the dishonest are too apt to say. Though the Saint and his Knight, Sir John, did not succeed in establishing the necessary penny union upon the knighting project, the fees for the diplomas being (I presume, for I am really ignorant of the



essentials of this amusing affair) charged too high, and failing, as in the time of that pious and saintly martyr Charles the First, to add to the revenues of the Abbey of Ilchester, and Manor of Glastonbury, some new scheme for a money union was necessary, and this led to the revival of a meditated attack upon the borough-mongers by cunningly getting away all their weapons with the allurements of a few pence! This brings us to the opening of that grand association called *The Great Northern Radical Union* before a single penny was subscribed to it! Freemasons and Orangemen hide your faces before "THE GREAT NORTHERN RADICAL UNION!" particularly if the Dukes, Marquises, the Earls, the Barons, the Baronets, the Knights, and the Esquires should join it at the call of their brother Aristocrat, Sir John Thacker Saxton, Knight of the Order of St. Henry of Ilchester. Irony avault!

Now, Mr. Wooler, I believe it was on this very day twelve months, perhaps within a few minutes of the time I am now writing to you, that Mr. Candelet, at the request of Mr. Hunt, broached the subject of this penny union at a public dinner in Manchester. The thing commenced soon after, and I will undertake to say, that the subscribers were at their height at Christmas last, and that they have fallen in numbers gradually, instead of having increased, since that time. It has been now tried near twelve months, and what sum has Sir Charles Wolseley in hand? Can we say any thing about £500? What will this sum do towards a borough? Just nothing at all. What would it do towards a contested election? Nothing more than may be done without it. Where then would you be if Castlereagh's death should lead to a new Parliament? You and others may make just such a trip as you did to a former Coventry and Hull election, but you will be left to condole over your disappointments just as you then were. The three, the four, the five hundred pounds, or whatever funds the Great Northern Radical Union can boast, will be gone, and then *adieu* to the collection of any more Union pennies.

I will put a question to you in another shape. Do you not think the selfish and ambitious disposition that has dictated the management and purpose of that Union has defeated itself? Do you not think that if one general union, one general fund, had been established, the first principle of which should have been to provide for the necessities of the prisoners in the cause of Reform, and the surplus to have been applied to Parliamentary purposes; do you not think

that such a liberal and praiseworthy system would have left you a much greater fund than you now have, after every prisoner and his family had been kept above the want of the necessaries and even the comforts of life? I am of opinion that you would have had a fund ten times its present amount, as a surplus, by this time. No man that called himself a Reformer, and wished so to be thought, could have refused his weekly subscription to such a fund. There would then have been a union of all parties called Reformers, because all parties must have felt an interest in it, and shame would have attached to any man refusing to subscribe. As it is at present, to subscribe to such a project as that which the Great Northern Radical Union boasts is a proof either of gross credulity or gross corruption. It ensures no one individual benefit, even if the money gets a Reformer into Parliament. The whole thing is nothing more at present than a sacrifice of pence at the shrine of ambition.

May I not ask you, Mr. Wooler, how it is that you feel so much attachment to the present union of pence to make Members of Parliament, whilst on the former attempt you was quite silent upon the matter? If Mr. Hunt was the projector of this, he was the treasurer of that. The case is, you did not then think a complete identification or any identification with Mr. Hunt was a profitable concern, and that penny union was left to work its own way without your support or notice. It is Mr. Hunt to whom you now minister, and not the union or the principle of the union of pence. You were no friend of his before the Manchester massacre. At that meeting he served you as you lately served me at Birmingham; he said your name was not worthy of a public notice. I then, with the exception of Sir Charles Wolseley, was considered by Mr. Hunt the only individual, not belonging to Manchester, worthy of the public thanks of the meeting; at least, mine and Sir Charles Wolseley's were the only names on the established list, as Sir Charles called that at Birmingham, or the list which Mr. Hunt had arranged as worthy the public thanks of that most important meeting. So you may see there are political weathercocks among the Reformers. I have pursued one straight forward course ever since that time, whilst you and Mr. Hunt have veered into the same direction; and you, who, had you been a man of spirit, would never have identified your name with his after the manner he handled it in a public letter to Sir Francis Burdett, have now be-



come the only caterer, by the Press, to his ambition and uniform squabbles with other Reformers. Mr. Hunt has now passed the zenith of his popularity, and I will be bound for it, that the moment you cease to find his connection profitable, you will be the first to turn your back upon him, as I have seen you do upon every individual similarly situated. He, I know, despises you in his heart for several dirty tricks I could mention, that you have played him, and you must be a phenomenon in human nature if you can feel private respect for him after the character he has published of you, and the denunciations he has made of your political motives and principles.

To return to the Penny Parliamentary Union, I perceive that the Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, Baronets, Knights, and Esquires have not thought your man, Saxton, worth an answer upon his call upon them to subscribe their pennies, even on the promise to make them all trusty men. No such answer has been yet printed. As the Manchester Observer is read within a very narrow sphere, as I have no recollection that you have noticed this affair in the Dwarf, and as Mr. Hunt has noticed it in a manner that indicates its origin with him and his approbation of the measure, though he affects to ridicule it, and like a saint, three times calls upon the Lord of Hypocrites to help him out of the disgrace and dilemma; I shall copy here the whole affair, which I pronounce a complete abandonment of the principles, which all sound Radical Reformers swore in 1819 to act upon. Both you and Mr. Hunt were ashamed to follow it up in your great exclusive channels for Radical Intelligence, it therefore becomes my duty to expose the thing, and to stop the cheat as far as possible.

At a very numerous meeting of the members of the Manchester District of the Great Northern Union of Radical Reformers, held in the Union Rooms, on Monday evening, July 8th, 1822, Mr. Thomas Crabtree being unanimously called to the chair, proceeded to open the business of the meeting, by reading the following requisition, by which it had been summoned; and shortly addressed the members on the object for which they were assembled:

**"GREAT NORTHERN UNION.—PUBLIC MEETING OF THE  
SUBSCRIBERS.**

WE, the undersigned, being original supporters and regular contributors to the Fund of the Great Northern Union of Radical Reformers, respectfully request the Manchester District Committee to con-

THOMAS CRABTREE, Chairman.

vene a public meeting of the Subscribers on an early day, in order to take into consideration the propriety of addressing His Grace the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Tavistock, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Robert Wilson, Messrs. Hobhouse, Hume, James, and other distinguished patriots, soliciting them to become Members of the Union, and to give it the benefit of their patronage and support.

(Signed)

WILLIAM WILLIAMS,  
JOHN JOHNSTON,  
PETER HUGHES,  
J. T. SAXTON,  
THOMAS CRABTREE,  
ELIJAH DIXON.

*Manchester, July 1, 1820.*

Agreeably to the wish expressed in the above requisition, we hereby give notice that a Public Meeting of the Subscribers to the Great Northern Union, resident in this neighbourhood, will be held at the Union Rooms, in George Leigh Street, on Monday next, July 8th, precisely at 7 o'clock, for the purpose expressed in the said requisition.

(Signed)

By order of the Committee,  
JAMES COX, Treasurer,  
RICHARD STANSFIELD, Secretary.

*Manchester, July 3d, 1822.*

[Mr. J. T. Saxton, accompanied by some friends, having at this period of the proceedings entered the room, the information was communicated to the meeting by the Chairman, and received with strong tokens of applause.]

Mr. Saxton then proceeded to read the following Resolutions and Address, which would be afterwards submitted for the adoption of the meeting. They were received throughout with decided approbation.—

That the Members of the Great Northern Union now present, feel justified in expressing their decided belief that, from the state of its funds, (not yet £500) and the numbers by whom it is cordially supported, the Institution has already obtained a stability, which may fairly bid defiance to the open hostility, or secret machinations of its enemies.

That this Meeting, nevertheless, having observed the manly and patriotic declarations of several members of both Houses of Parliament, in favour of a complete Reform in the constitution of the Peoples' Representatives, think it their duty to endeavour to secure the support and co-operation of those members who have so distinguished themselves; and that, therefore, an Address be forthwith prepared, and forwarded, as the deliberative act of this Meeting, to the following Noblemen and Gentlemen, thanking them individually for the line of conduct they have pursued, and earnestly and respectfully soliciting them for permission to rank their names as members and supporters of the Great Northern Union; by this means adding strength to



the strong, and rendering "assurance doubly sure:"—viz. the Duke of Norfolk; the Duke of Bedford; his son the Marquis of Tavistock; the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Grosvenor, Earl Grey; Lord Erskine; Earl Caernarvon; Lord King; Sir Francis Burdett; Sir Robert Wilson; Ald. Wood; Messrs. Hobhouse, Hume, G. Bennett, Fysche Palmer, J. G. Lambton, Creevey, Hutchinson, T. W. Coke, and James."

That the Address now read, be signed by the Chairman, and transmitted as early as convenient to the respective parties above enumerated.

### THE ADDRESS.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The members contributing to the Fund of the Great Northern Union of Radical Reformers for the Manchester District, from whence originated the institution which has so rapidly risen to a state of prosperity which at once secures its permanency and utility, beg leave to address you in the language of honest respect and unblemished truth. They witnessed with feelings of proud exultation, the noble stand which you have lately made, in stemming that system of wild profusion and unbounded extravagance, in which ministers, supported by their satraps, the boroughmongers, have improvidently persevered, until they can neither support the system, nor will the system support them; and they must needs be dismayed when they contemplate the combination of rank, integrity, and talent arrayed in open hostility against them. Nay, many of the most blind and devoted adherents, have at length become sensible of their folly, in supporting measures which have proved in their effects ruinous and destructive to the happiness and prosperity of the people; and appear more than half ready to join the standard of Reform! The members of the Northern Union have nothing to wish for as a body; they repeat, confidently repeat, that the patronage which they have received from the great and the good, aided by the sure operation of one penny per week from the members, has secured its permanency and usefulness; but they confess, that could they obtain the distinction they seek for by their present Address, they should feel that they had secured a host of strength, and a tower of impregnability, which would defy all the battering rams that Boroughmongers, Sinecurists, and Pensioners dared to muster against them. Under this conviction, then, the Manchester District of the Northern Union, respectfully and earnestly solicit, that you, my Lords and Gentlemen, who have borne such honourable testimony to the necessity of an immediate Reform in the House of Commons, will follow up the the manly declaration, by permitting your name to be enrolled as a member and supporter of the Great Northern Union, thus giving sanction to an institution whose avowed and only object is to raise a Fund "*for returning independent members into the Commons' House of Parliament,*" an object which, in common with the Union, yourself profess to have in view.

(Signed)

On behalf the Meeting

THOMAS CRABTREE, Chairman.

There it is; there let it stand as a monument of the political wisdom of those who originated and who manage the Great Northern Radical Union! There let it stand as a specimen of radical tergiversation, and the corrupt principles of those who now pass under the denomination of Radical Leaders!

This bait for the Dukes and others not taking, I am informed from Manchester, that, to preserve the stability of the funds of this Union, the Committee agreed to pay a man fifteen shillings per week to go round to collect pennies and subscribers, as both began to flag and did not come in fast enough. One man undertook this task by an appointment on a Monday evening, and after exerting himself one day, he discovered the hopelessness of his task, and on the Tuesday evening he resigned into the hands of the Committee his important office. I did not hear that a single penny or the name of one subscriber accompanied the resignation. This Union, like the Bridge-Street Gang and Vice Society, must go down. The purpose of each is equally corrupt and pernicious to the interests of the people as a whole. We must fight the boroughmongers with sharper weapons than their boroughs, and the most essential means of bringing about that object is to disseminate the greatest possible degree of knowledge among the people, until they are roused to the overthrow of the abuses that are practised upon them, or until that opportunity offers. To expect a Reform voted by the present constitution of the Parliament, is like looking for chastity from a prostitute, honesty from a robber, and virtuous modesty from every thing that is base and profligate. The strictest honesty and integrity, unaccompanied with the most determined resolution would be overwhelmed and lost in that den of all that is foul. There is nothing in the composition of four out of the six *embryo members* of the Northern Union fitted for the situation, and all I could wish for the other two is that they should be tried.

Teach the people sound principles through the portion of the Press you command, Mr. Wooler, and no longer content yourself with tickling and trifling with them. For years you have been the admirer of all the principles of Thomas Paine; you once mustered resolution to commence an open advocacy of them, but you shrunk back again into a species of Whig politics. Now come forward again, the ice is thoroughly broken for you; persecution has been driven back, and your campaign will be productive of a



lasting wreath of laurels, whilst your path will be unattended with dangers. The way has been made smooth for you, and your genius and ability may find a full swing without impediments. You have always had some person tugging at your skirts behind, and begging you not to go too far, or so far: kick them away, and move on unfettered as an independent man. Shake off all corrupt connections, and stand alone. A sort of indolence inherent in your organization has always left you the tool of some corrupt faction, instead of leading on in the triumphant manner which your ability was calculated to effect, had it been accompanied with a honest and independent resolution. Rouse from your present corrupt attachments and commence a new career. The time for improvement is always existing, and it is perfectly within my knowledge that you have a private stimulus to strike out in some new career more powerful than any language I can address to you. You have talents sufficient to excite the admiration of all mankind; play the man and give them full effect.

I subjoin to this letter a copy of that sent to you by Mr. Brayshaw, of which you did not deem prudent even to acknowledge the receipt, and also another I have received relating to your conduct at Birmingham. In the latter you are made to charge me with misrepresenting you; again I ask you for the slightest proof of any thing of the kind. Give it to me privately if you do not like to do it publicly, and if you convince me of any thing of the kind, I will make a public or a private apology for it, just as you shall wish. In every other respect I shall leave the letters to speak for themselves. If you do not see, others will, that they bear out the representations, not the misrepresentations, I have made of you. Here are names, dates, and facts, those best of all proofs of the truth of an assertion. Here is proof of the charge I made against you in my last letter, that you have joined a knot of hypocrites to do me all the injury you can, both privately and publicly. However, I have nothing to fear from you. I find that the support I receive from the public goes on increasing, whilst I know that yours and your comrades' in delusion goes on decreasing. I will silence you all within a few months, and convince you by the most powerful of reasons of the necessity of a different line of conduct towards me and those who act with me. Upon the score of opinion or principle you have no excuse; your hypocrisy is of the most profligate and bare-faced kind, because you are known to be the private

espouser of the principles you would check me in propagating. I will not promise you another letter upon the present state of matters between us, but let me beg of you not to say another word about union among Reformers, after what you will see exhibited in Mr. Russel's letter from Birmingham.

R. CARLILE.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

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SIR,

YOUR insertion of the inclosed letter in the Republican will facilitate the cause of *equal justice*. The Editor of the Black Dwarf not having the candour to acknowledge the receipt, nor the honesty to insert this refutation, after having given publicity to the Resolutions of a one-sided Meeting, held in the Union-Rooms at the Bank of Leeds, though five weeks have elapsed since it was forwarded. Your compliance will oblige, Your's,

JOSEPH BRAYSHAW.

Leeds, Aug. 17, 1822.

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TO MR. WOOLER.

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SIR,

WHEN you were addressed last in a note to which my name was signed, our object was to prevent the possibility of your publishing an account of the proceedings of a number of individuals in Leeds, who resorted to brute force in order to prevent the attendance of their ponents, without at the same time placing on record the violence they had committed. I now undertake to address you in consequence of the remarks which you have thought proper to make in the Dwarf, and to afford you that explanation which may perhaps be necessary to a person in your situation. Whether you will now think proper to act up to the principles of free discussion that you profess to advocate, or on the other hand, whether you will refuse to insert this and basely deny having received any letter from Mr. Mann, as you did on a former occasion, must depend upon your own choice. One thing I have determined upon, which is, to have no further connection with private proceedings upon public affairs. You well know that much of the dissention which now exists in Leeds arose from you and Mr. Hunt denouncing a declaration of sentiments agreed to at Stockport, and which was previously agreed to at Leeds, as being the work of spies. You thought proper on that occasion to refuse to insert my letter in answer to those denunciations, and even to deny having received any letter from Leeds upon the



subject; but your duplicity has, in the end, perhaps, proved beneficial, as it has tended to expose the double dealing which has been had recourse to, and has drawn from Mr. Mann and Mr. Wasse an acknowledgment that they both actually wrote to you in order to prevent that document being published, which perfectly concurs with the ideas contained in my letter to you. The old proverb is now verified, which says that *great liars should have good memories*; but it is fortunate that those memories sometimes fail, and circumstances sometimes compel the truth to come out. A meeting was held for the purpose of publicly investigating the cause of the dissensions which existed among the Reformers, or those who call themselves Reformers, in Leeds. The meeting continued four nights, during which time not one-tenth part of the matter necessary to a full explanation was entered into, when the supporters of the Northern Union, finding themselves unable to bear the exposure which took place on the fourth night, had recourse to brute force in order to prevent their opponents from attending. You profess yourself unable to believe that the Reformers of Leeds could resort to any thing of the kind. Whether they ought to have the name of Reformers or not, is a question upon which we shall perhaps differ, but that the supporters of the Northern Union, in conjunction with the Christian Reformers, had recourse to brute force, is a fact as well established in Leeds as the memorable massacre at Manchester, and there can be little doubt but the parties having recourse to force on both occasions were actuated by similar motives. The first instance was had recourse to by Mr. Wasse, the worthy Treasurer of the Northern Union, who struck a young man in the room appropriated to the conducting of Mr. Carlile's subscription, where himself, Mr. Mann, and a number of his companions attended, in order to cause an uproar in the room, that the Republicans might be deprived of its use. But I will leave this subject to another part of my letter, and now notice the Resolutions which these pretended Reformers came to, after they had driven away their opponents by brute force. In the first place, it is necessary to premise, that they have not dared to publish the Resolutions they passed at their meeting on the fifth night, which consisted almost entirely of their own party, without new modelling them. Indeed, so little regard have these gentlemen paid either to truth or consistency, that even the Resolutions contained in the Manchester Observer differ from those contained in the Dwarf, though I believe these papers are both printed in one office, and are certainly the property of the same individual. But their real Resolutions they have not dared to publish in either paper. Having recorded thus much respecting their honesty in publishing their Resolutions, I shall now make a few observations upon their Resolutions in the Black Dwarf, July 10th.

The first Resolution is as follows:

"That the letters of Mr. Brayshaw, addressed to Mr. Wooler and Mr. Hunt, as published by Mr. Carlile, contain false and slanderous reflections on the conduct of Mr. Mann; which Mr. Brayshaw must

have known to be false before he sent them; and that by his refusing to meet the Committee of the Reformers, and come to a full explanation on the subject, he has proved himself unworthy the confidence of every friend to freedom."

This Resolution requires to be divided into parts, namely, the act of sending statements to Mr. Wooler and Mr. Hunt containing false and slanderous reflections on the conduct of Mr. Mann, and that of refusing to meet the Committee of Reformers. Each of those subjects requires a few observations. I shall first begin with my letters to you and Mr. Hunt. Here is a very pretty piece of work, indeed! Two of the individuals who signed their names to my letters to Mr. Hunt, and who then vouched for the truth of every thing contained both in the letter to Mr. Wooler and that to Mr. Hunt, are now named as members of a Committee which undertakes to pronounce them false! These individuals are Joseph Taylor and Richard Whincup; and I will add, that the most essential character of my letter, the facts, were communicated by Joseph Taylor, and another individual who is in connection with the same party, namely, Mr. Fegan.

At the time when the meetings took place which produced the declaration, I was in a state of such excessive bad health as to be unfit to leave my house, though in compliance with the strongest solicitations I did one evening walk down to the place where those gentry met, and though they knew that in my state of health such a journey could scarcely fail to be fatal to me, yet they used the strongest importunities to prevail upon me to go to Manchester. Knowing myself absolutely incapable of doing any thing of the kind, I positively refused to undertake the journey. I did not spend more than half an hour with them, and I did not see the circular letter from Manchester, but during the time I was present I enquired what was the object of the meeting. I was answered that the delegates were to be sent to Manchester for the purpose of assenting to, or dissenting from, certain propositions there to be submitted to them. I enquired what the nature of those propositions was, and I was informed that not one word was said about the nature of those propositions, and that it was necessary to keep the whole affair a profound secret until after the meeting had taken place. If this be a false account of the circular, I am indebted to those who then possessed it for the falsehood. Mr. Mann was one of the company who communicated the intelligence, and he was the individual to whom they said the circular came. When they found it was impossible to persuade me to undertake the journey to Manchester, it was agreed that Mr. Fegan should go; and after his return, he, in company with Mr. Joseph Taylor, called upon me and told me the meeting had been called by the Whigs, in order to try to induce the Radicals to attend country meetings in support of Mr. Lambton's motion. They told me that the deputies had come to a conclusion that they had no right to come to any such resolution without first consulting those who had sent them, and on that account the meeting had been ad-



journed for a fortnight; after which time the delegates were to meet again at Stockport, and each delegate to take with him a declaration of sentiment. They further told me, that they had a meeting of the Committee in Leeds, at which it was agreed that I should be requested to draw up a declaration for the Reformers in Leeds, and I was particularly requested to draw it up in marked opposition to the Whigs, by making a fair statement of what we considered necessary for the welfare of the people. In consequence of this request I drew up a declaration which urged the absolute necessity of a written Constitution, a Legislature elected annually by the whole male adult population, and an elective and accountable magistracy. This declaration was agreed to in Leeds, and Mr. Mann held up his hand in support of it; in conformity with this, we have had the evidence of Messrs. Taylor, Whincup, and Fegan, at the late investigation; and Mr. Mann then urged as his reason for opposing it afterwards, that I had neglected to sign the names of the deputies; but if there was any neglect in this respect, Mr. Mann was as much in fault as myself, as I was not at the meeting at Stockport, and I was totally unacquainted with every individual who was there, except the deputy from Leeds. These are some of the inconsistencies of those gentlemen; but when they have once determined to endeavour to delude the public, there is nothing at which they will stop. During one period of their meeting they declare that Mr. Mann supported the declaration, at another time they say it is a falsehood; and at one time they sign the letter to Mr. Hunt, in which that to you, Mr. Wooler, is embodied, vouching for the truth of every thing they contain, and at another time they pass Resolutions stating they are false and slanderous! What is it in those letters which is false and slanderous? Is it that which says the meetings were got up in support of the Whigs? If it be I am indebted to Mr. Fegan the delegate, and to Mr. Joseph Taylor for my information. If it be false, they may take the falsehoods to themselves, I have their own names written down where they vouch for its truth. Will Mr. Mann dare to say he did not take an active part in promoting the meetings? Will Messrs. Mann, Taylor, and Fegan undertake to say that they did not vote that I should draw up the declaration, or will Mr. Taylor and Mr. Fegan come forward and publicly acknowledge that they told me a lie when they told me that Mr. Mann was one of the persons who voted that I should draw up a declaration? Will Messrs. Taylor, Fegan, and Whincup, after having declared in evidence at the meetings, which have now been held for the purpose of investigating the affair, that Mr. Mann supported the declaration in the Union Room before it was sent to Stockport, now come forward and say that they perjured themselves by declaring as truth that which they knew to be a lie? Will these three Gentlemen acknowledge in the Dwarf that they signed the letter to Mr. Hunt vouching for the truth of all I had stated in both letters with no other design than that of encouraging me to calumniate Mr. Mann? If they did this, which is the purport of their own resolution, I leave the world to judge whether they are

worthy of confidence, or whether they are fit men, for conducting the public affairs. When I drew up the declaration I did not draw it up for a secret document. No, I should scorn to draw up any document to which I durst not sign my own name. I drew it up under the expectation that it would be made as public as possible, and at the request of those who had desired me to draw it up; I sent it to you, Mr. Wooler, in a letter signed by my own name. Mr. Wooler and Mr. Hunt both thought proper to denounce it in the most unmanly terms, but it was published by Mr. Carlile in a pamphlet entitled "An Effort," &c. and along with it was published my letters to those gentlemen which I wrote at the request of fourteen persons who had supported it, and who signed the letter to Mr. Hunt, which contained that to Mr. Wooler, with their own names, vouching for the truth of all their contents. Amongst these individuals was Messrs. Taylor, Whincup, and Fegan. If they knew at the time that they were false, why did they sign them? I did not know them to be false, neither do I now believe that they contain so much as one falsehood. I make it a uniform practice not to write any thing that I am afraid of publishing. Mr. Hunt never sent one line in reply to the letter I sent to him, though it was signed by the above persons, and you, Sir, never thought proper to take further notice of it than in one of your notices to Correspondents denying having the letters, which correspondence Messrs. Mann and Wasse have acknowledged writing. I now come to the second part of their charge, that of having refused to meet the committee of Reformers. To come to a full explanation on the subject, I could state several reasons to justify myself for refusing to meet that pretended Committee, one of my reasons was that they were not a committee chosen by the body of Reformers, but were chosen only by a small minority of a meeting to conduct the business of the Northern Union, after the majority had voted against the Union and its supporters. But there is another reason, a reason which had it not been for the conduct of Messrs. Wasse and Whincup I should have kept an eternal secret. These Gentlemen publicly undertook to charge me with going on a mission at the public expense, and never giving an account of my mission, though they well know that I gave an account to as many of the secret junto who sent me, as thought proper to attend the meeting appointed to receive it. This they did under the firm conviction that I should not dare to give a public account of it, which would have afforded them another handle for traducing my character. Here, Sir, is the key to the mysterious heap about the missions, it was no mystery to Messrs. Wasse, Mann and Whincup, as two of those gentlemen were the individuals who called for the account, and I boldly tell them that there is no part in public affairs that I have taken which I am afraid to publish. I have already the matter connected with the missions ready for the press, and it is now out of their power to prevent its publication, even by taking away my life. If the expenditure of nine pounds which Mr. Wasse says I received, I had to defray the expences of a journey of upwards of five hundred miles, the greatest part of which I had to



travel by the Mail. I can tell them that the coach-hire cost me eight pounds fifteen shillings. It cost me five shillings for a night's accommodation in Glasgow to conceal myself from the police, to whom some of these gentry had sent notice that they might be ready to arrest me on my arrival. The rest of the expences were borne out of my own pocket, and I may add calumny and ruined health have been the only wages I ever received for the time I have spent in the public cause. It was on account of those gentry who sent me on that expedition forming the committee whom I had some time before found out were the parties who had plotted the means of my own destruction that determined me never to have any further intercourse with them in private, nor in fact to have any dealings whatever with Mr Mann, but such as were fairly before the public. I have already suffered sufficient: my life has been endangered often enough by attending private meetings of Mr. Mann and his friends, and I will assure you that I shall not be found in their private company again. I have already shewn that the threat about the missions was not mysterious to those who were present at the meeting; and as our opponents called for the account, it shall be fully contained in a publication, which is now preparing for the Press, which will contain a full account of all the proceedings which are connected with the present dissensions. You say: "is it for Republicans to become informers." I say is it for honest men, who have been treated in the same manner as I have been treated by Mr. Mann, Mr. Hunt, and yourself, not to allow you to deceive and delude the public by denouncing every person as an agent of the existing government who dares boldly to call the people's attention to just and rational principles of Government, instead of directing them to follow the popular characters who are generally ready to change their language when they find it expedient, whether their opinions change or not. You pretend to disbelieve that the Reformers of Leeds would act in so brutal a manner as to insult and endanger the lives of men who appear in their own defence against accusation. I am as far as you are from believing that the great body of Reformers would act in such a manner. Our charge is not against them, but against the supporters of the Northern Union, and a set of religious savages who call themselves Christian Reformers. It was the circumstance of my having promised to comply with the request of Messrs. Wasse and Whincup, in giving an account of my mission which roused these furies to the acts of violence, and in order that the Northern Union Gentry might be able to carry their affair more triumphantly, and have more fighters on their side by endeavouring to rouse the Christian Reformers against one of our party, whom these honest religious Reformers had attempted to cheat out of the money due for doing the joiners work in their Chapel. You say is it for men who contend that the people have an undoubted right to assemble together when they please, to talk of illegal meetings? The allusion made to illegal meetings was on account of the riotous and outrageous proceedings of our opponents, and the personal ill-treatment that some of our party had received, even to that extent which for a considerable

time caused the life of one of our party to be despaired of, and who is not even at the present time free from the effects of their violence. We spoke of the meetings being illegal from a certainty that, whatever injury we might suffer by attending them we could obtain no redress, and from knowing that, if our brutal opponents should murder any of our companions, we should be under as great a responsibility as the murderers themselves on account of attending a meeting which was not held in conformity with the provisions of the existing law; these things induced us to speak of the illegality of the meeting, and to urge the necessity of the meetings being called in conformity with the existing laws, before we attended. It was not that we considered the people have not a right to meet when they think proper which induced us to make use of the words, but from a firm conviction that no set of men have a right to answer facts and arguments by blows and threats of violence, or to endanger the lives of those whom they dare not meet in the field of open investigation. Was it any part of your business to endanger our lives by attending to explanations with those who were determined to do all in their power to prevent the truth coming out, and only answer facts and arguments by the strength of their fists or by the force with which they could use their feet upon their opponents after having knocked them down. No, Sir, if they are determined that we shall not be allowed to justify ourselves in meetings called for the purpose of investigating the affair, the public press affords the means of clearing the whole from full satisfaction, and we have no doubt that we shall be able to satisfy every honest man. We have long since denounced Mr. Mann as a base and dishonest character, and at those meetings we were prepared sufficiently to prove it. I am determined that I will never co-operate with such a character as he has given me. A sufficient proof of his determination to have recourse to every species of fraud in order to destroy any one who acts an open and honest part. Had they not had recourse to brute force in order to prevent our attendance, I have not the least doubt but I should have been able fully to justify myself, I shall certainly do it by the means of the press, since they have determined to prevent its being done any other way, and I have no doubt but the other individuals who are included with me in their censure will be able to do the same. The other individuals who are named in their note concede to what I have stated in this letter, so far as they are acquainted with the subject, but as they were not connected with the private meetings from which I was sent on my missions, the part which relates to the nature of those missions they are little acquainted with as yet, any further than what is stated in this letter.

I am Sir, yours, &c.

J. BRAWSHAW.



## TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR, Birmingham, August 14, 1822.

It is with regret, that as a matter of justice, I find myself called upon to inform you of a circumstance connected with the public dinner given as a mark of respect to Mr. T. J. Wooler, in this town, on Monday the 29th of last month. Having made previous enquiry of the managers of the dinner as to the list of toasts and sentiments to be given on that occasion, I found to my surprise and regret, that, though almost every other sufferer in the great common cause of general liberty was particularised by name, yet, strange and illiberal as it appeared to me, your name, coupled with a desire, as it ought to have been, that Free Discussion on all opinions might be accomplished through your sufferings and assiduous perseverance for such a desirable consummation, was omitted.

Having communicated to several of the active managers my opinion of the unfairness of the thing, and having informed them, that unless justice was done, I should feel myself obliged to introduce the matter; being fearful however that party motives would prevail, I provided myself with the enclosed remarks and attended the dinner. Sir Charles Wolseley was in the chair, and after the sovereignty of the people, the name of Mr. Wooler, and other distinguished individuals had been toasted, those who had been incarcerated in the cause of Reform from this town were mentioned, and returned thanks. Being one of them, when it came to my turn, I rose and returned thanks, and put into the hands of the Chairman your name coupled with a desire for Free Discussion, observing to him, "Sir, knowing that it will be at the expence of dividing this unanimous meeting if I address the company, I shall merely request that you will give them the name and sentiment I now place in your hand from the Chair." On reading it Sir Charles shook his head, and said, "it could not be acceded to, being a deviation from the established list placed in his hands by the committee of management." He then handed the slip to Mr. Wooler, to whom the perusal seemed far from pleasing, taking his countenance as the index of his mind. I appealed to Mr. Wooler on the justice as well as propriety of putting the toast, and to my mortification received for answer "that you had somehow or where misrepresented his motives, and that he would not remain in the company if your name was given." I reminded him that a few years ago he and Mr. Hunt, now his avowed friend, were at daggers drawn: but all I could say had no effect on his resolve, and conscious of my inability to contest the matter by words against so formidable an opponent in that art, contrary to my first determination, I was constrained to give up the matter from the hopelessness of any success. In fact, the illiberality of Mr. Wooler in declaring he would leave the company if your health was drank confounded me. It was what I did not expect from him who had written so much about union. The

first omission I had imagined lay with the committee of management, several of whom I know belong to the Wesleyan connexion, or the sect denominated Methodists; but little did I think such men, as Wolseley and Wooler are cried up to be, could not only countenance but insist on the omission. On the company leaving the booth a large party adjourned to a Tavern much frequented by a liberal company and spent the evening in a convivial manner. I had there an opportunity of bringing forward the observations accompanying this letter, and with a slight opposition on the part of the Wesleyan committee-man, and a drunken fanatic who, at the mention of your name, in the true spirit of an intolerant Christian, cried out: "to hell with him," the toast and sentiment was received with applause, and the individual in the Chair, J. T. Saxton of Manchester, though he acknowledged he had received a recent castigation from your pen, joined heartily in the general wish of the company. I feel quite satisfied, that had your name been given from the Chair at the dinner, it would have been equally well received,

I remain truly yours,

JOSEPH RUSSEL.

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The receipt of £6 is acknowledged by R. Carlile as a subscription to his fines, &c., from A. Z.

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